PARENT-CHILD COMMUNICATION ABOUT WORK: LINKAGES WITH CHILDREN'S

PERCEPTIONS OF PARENTAL EMPLOYMENT AND CHILDREN'S EDUCATIONAL

AND OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS

By

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To the faculty of Washington State University:

      The members of the Committee appointed to examine the thesis of
SARA L. WINKELMAN find it satisfactory and recommend that it be accepted.

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Abstract

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Research on work and family has generally found support for the notion that parental

employment has an impact on children's outcomes. Evidence points to parental employment as

one factor that may contribute to children's educational success, which serves as one predictor of

children's educational aspirations. Little attention has been paid, however, to the specific

processes by which children learn about the world of employment. The present study attempted

to address this limitation by examining the linkages between of parental self-disclosure about

work and children's educational and occupational aspirations. This relationship was

hypothesized to be mediated by children's knowledge of their parents' work characteristics and

work emotions. Trained interviewers administered surveys during home interviews to 106

children in grades three through six and their parents. The study found that fathers' self-

disclosure about work was related to children's knowledge and aspirations, associations that were

not evident for mothers. Fathers' self-disclosure about work may be more significant to children

due to fathers' work circumstances playing a more central role in the family. The mediational

hypothesis was not completely supported, but the present study showed that children may

respond to fathers' self-disclosure about work differently than to mothers' self-disclosure.

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This thesis is dedicated to my husband, Bryce, for all of his love, support, and constant belief in

my abilities. Without him I would not have achieved this goal.

PARENT-CHILD COMMUNICATION ABOUT WORK: LINKAGES WITH CHILDREN'S

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Introduction

The Evolution of Work and Family Research

Research on work and family has undergone many substantial changes since its initial

conceptualization. Beginning as a simple question – does having a job affect the family? – early

work and family research established the need for further investigation. Researchers have been

able to establish that parental work often impacts families; however, only since the early 1980's

have researchers focused on how and why this relation exists (Bronfenbrenner & Crouter, 1982).

The changing questions being investigated under the umbrella of work and family

illustrate the complexity of this relationship. Barnett (1998) suggested that the category of "work

and family" is too broad to be helpful in guiding research in a common direction. Substantial

support has been documented for the notion that work and family do not occur as separate

environments. The two co-exist, often causing strain for the employee and family member.

However, it is unclear where the boundaries are surrounding work and family. Both family

members and employees exist in complex, interdependent social systems. These social systems

are largely ignored in the present literature, given the narrow scope of research on an individual's

ability to productively participate in the work sphere as well as the family sphere.

Research on work and family began with an investigation into the impact of paternal

employment. Specifically, researchers were interested in how employment influenced child-

rearing activities. In one study, a dichotomous comparison was made between fathers working

in an established organization or an emerging business (Miller & Swanson, 1958). Miller and

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Swanson found that fathers' work characteristics impacted mothers' parenting values. When fathers worked at an established business, mothers promoted prosocial skills in their children; however, when fathers worked at a developing business, mothers' promoted individual achievement in children (this was most strongly illustrated in the academic arena). These findings were possibly confounded by variables such as socioeconomic status, work hours, and benefits offered. Authors reporting on this area, however, suggested that established organizations were characterized by paying higher wages, having more stable work hours, and offering an array of benefits when compared to emerging businesses. This assumption does not indicate a control was in place for such possible confounds (Bronfenbrenner & Crouter, 1982).

Research focusing on paternal employment was most frequently reported during the 1950's and 1960's. The next step in the evolution of work and family research was a focus on maternal employment; specifically, researchers looked for the negative effects on children of employed mothers. One such negative outcome was less success in sons' academics (e.g., Glueck & Glueck, 1957; Gold & Andres, 1979; Hand, 1957). The increasing number of women seeking employment outside the home sparked this research. As in the early research on paternal employment, however, most research still focused on a dichotomous comparison of working and non-working mothers (Bronfenbrenner & Crouter, 1982).

It has been well-documented that the number of employed women has been increasing since as early as the 1950's (e.g., Bronfenbrenner & Crouter, 1982; Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2005). This upward trend remained until 2000 when the number of employed women peaked, with women making up 57.5% of the United States civilian labor force, up from 42% in 1970. As recently as 2004 there has been a slight decline in the percentage of women in the civilian labor force, to 56%. This trend has been mirrored in the number of mothers with children under

18 in the labor force. In 1975 mothers of children 18 years old and younger made up 36.4% of

the potential female labor force (those females either currently employed or actively seeking

employment), but in 2000 mothers made up 68.6% of the potential female labor force. Again,

since 2000 there has been a slight decrease in this percentage; in 2004, working mothers made up

64.9% of the potential female labor force (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2005). The steadily

increasing numbers of women, especially mothers, in the labor force have captured the attention

of many researchers.

Researchers looking at the effects of maternal employment on children frequently

focused on the negative outcomes (e.g., Glueck & Glueck,1957; Hand, 1957). Investigators

generally made the assumption that maternal employment alone was the cause of any observed

negative outcomes of children. This simplistic view ignored other environmental factors that

may also influence children's outcomes, such as childcare arrangements, school transitions, or

children's views of their mother's employment. Most research also failed to examine possible

gender differences (Bronfenbrenner & Crouter, 1982).

Historically, negative outcomes for children of employed mothers have been found to be

more prevalent among boys, although the correlations are still weak (e.g., Gold & Andres, 1979).

Young boys from middle class families with employed mothers have displayed slightly poorer

academic achievement, which is closely related to educational aspirations, and interpersonal

relationships than young boys from middle class families without employed mothers. In the past

it was suggested that this is due to sons witnessing the traditional male role being challenged

(Glueck & Glueck, 1957; Hand, 1957). However, more contemporary research has implied that

it may be that males need more direct supervision than females, and when mothers work outside

the home the males are not being supervised as closely (Crouter, MacDermid, McHale, & Perry-Jenkins, 1990).

Some studies suggest that young females, unlike their male counterparts, may react more positively to maternal employment (Bronfenbrenner & Crouter, 1982; Hoffman, 1963; Propper, 1972). Young girls whose mothers are employed have slightly higher scores on academic achievement, hold more prestigious aspirations, and social relationships than do girls of nonemployed mothers. This positive outcome is possibly due to girls having adult female role models in the working environment. Girls with working mothers may be given the message that women can effectively participate in the paid labor force, a notion that may give them more confidence to achieve professional and interpersonal goals (Bronfenbrenner & Crouter, 1982; Hoffman, 1963; Propper, 1972).

More recently, research on work and family has moved beyond trying to prove that maternal employment has negative consequences for children. Examinations of maternal employment have found an indirect relationship between work and family. Several mediating factors influence the associations between parental employment status and children's outcomes. Variables such as socioeconomic status, single-parenthood, childcare arrangements, and child's age when parents begin working all influence children's reactions to working parents (Gold & Andres, 1979; Paulson, 1996).

Recent findings have also helped work and family scholars move toward shaping their research questions in non-dichotomous ways. Contemporary work and family research no longer compares working fathers to unemployed fathers, or working mothers to at-home mothers. Investigations now focus on issues such as comparing parents not employed outside the home with those employed part-time and full-time (e.g., Jacobs & Gerson, 2000), as well as those

working daytime shifts, evening shifts, or overnight shifts (e.g., Presser, 1994). More importantly, through these non-dichotomous comparisons, researchers have come to focus on the variability among employed parents. Regardless of the increased complexity in research, there are still significant holes in the literature that need to be examined, such as the processes through which parental work experiences affect children's aspirations, academic achievement, and social relationships (Perry-Jenkins, Repetti, & Crouter, 2000).

The present study looks at one understudied element of work and family research: children's knowledge of characteristics associated with their parents' employment. Specifically, the methods through which children learn about parental employment are of marked interest**.** Children's knowledge or parental work characteristics and parental work emotions will be examined as a potential mediator of the relation between parental communication and children's aspirations. Specifically, the present study will examine if parental self-disclosure about work might predict children's knowledge of parental employment; then children's knowledge of parental employment will be examined as a predictor of children's educational and occupational aspirations. In order to examine this element of work and family, an overview of relevant theoretical perspectives will be considered. Relevant literature on the history of maternal employment, dual-earner families, children's knowledge of parental employment, and children's academic and occupational aspirations will be reviewed as well.

<center>Literature Review</center>

Work and Family: Relevant Theoretical Frameworks

The literature on work and family issues has one significant downfall: the lack of a consistent theoretical background. Given this challenge, it is necessary to piece together elements of a few well-known theories to provide a basis for current research. One major

framework nearly universally employed is the ecological systems model proposed by Bronfenbrenner (1989). This theory argues that various social systems, defined by proximity to the individual, impact the person. Another well-known theory that is cited in work and family literature is social learning theory (Bandura, 1969) which emphasizes the ways in which humans are socialized through observing a role model's behavior and subsequently imitating that behavior.

Regardless of the fact that it is difficult to find a well established theory that supports work and family research, some more specific work and family theories do exist and greatly aid in developing new research. One such model is the occupational linkage hypothesis, originally developed by Kohn (1969), which links certain characteristics of fathers' employment to sons' psychological attributes. Parcel and Menaghan (1994) extended this model. Their framework, the work socialization theory, suggests that parental (both maternal and paternal) work complexity affects parents' socialization goals and ultimately children's outcomes.

Ecological systems model. Bronfenbrenner (1989) hypothesized that individuals are differentially impacted based on the various social systems in which they live. There are four basic systems in Bronfenbrenner's model: the microsystem, the mesosystem, the exosystem, and the macrosystem. The microsystem is that system in which a child actively participates (e.g., the child's school). The mesosystem is the interaction among various systems in which the child participates (e.g., the child's family interacts with the child's school). The exosystem consists of social settings in which the child does not normally actively participate but may still influence their everyday experiences (e.g., their parent's work). Finally, the macrosystem is the broad social context in which a child lives (e.g., their culture).

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In work and family literature, the primary focus is typically on the workplace as the exosystem, specifically asking how parents' work affects children's home environment. However, children's microsystems are also important in that this is primarily where children and their parents interact. One implication, then, is that it is important to consider how parents' work (the exosystem) affects parental behaviors at home (the microsystem), and how these behaviors ultimately affect children (Bronfenbrenner, 1989).

This important link between parental work and children's outcomes has made a significant contribution to the work and family literature. However, Bronfenbrenner's (1989) framework was not focused on the mechanisms by which parent's employment affects children's outcomes, but rather simply on the fact that even the social worlds in which children are not normally involved can significantly impact children. Even with this significant theoretical contribution, questions still remain regarding the processes through which parental employment affects children's outcomes.

Social learning theory. Social learning theory uses the principle that children learn about various social behaviors through modeling or imitating a role model. According to Bandura (1969; Crain, 2000) four basic premises must be met in order to for children to absorb the behaviors of their role models. First, children must pay attention to the role model's behavior. Second, the child must remember what he or she observed the role model doing. Third, the child must have the physical ability to replicate the behavior. Finally, the child must receive some sort of reinforcement for the behavior.

Social learning theory can be applied to work and family literature in that children often imitate parental behavior in play situations or in real life situations. Parents are one of the primary socializers of children, which indicates that children afford much attention to their

parents. This applies to the first step in Bandura's (1969) social learning theory: the child must pay attention to the role model. Children often pay close attention to their parent's behaviors in both positive and negative situations.

Children not only give their parents a significant amount of attention, they also tend to remember how their parents react to any given stimuli. Parents often have a predictable or standard behavior pattern when they are faced with any one situation. For example, when a parent has a bad day at work he or she may come home, throw their briefcase on the ground, and sit on the couch for an hour before talking to anyone. Children have the potential to observe this behavior on multiple occasions, thereby making their retention of this behavior more likely due to repetition (Bandura, 1969; Crain, 2000).

Finally, children will not replicate any behavior without being reinforced or motivated to do so. This reinforcement or motivation does not have to be primarily directed at the child, however; the reinforcement may be what Bandura (1969) termed vicarious reinforcement. Children may observe that when a parent comes home from work upset, the other parent is extremely caring and concerned about his or her spouse. Children may observe this and be motivated to repeat this behavior to receive similar attention from their parents. As children age, however, they may see parental employment as being rewarded by money and children may begin to imitate parents in order to get a similar reward (Bandura, 1969; Crain, 2000).

Social learning theory applies well to work and family research when asking questions about how parents' work experiences shape children's attitudes and behaviors. One limitation of this theory is derived from the fact that there is no indication of what motivates parents' behaviors. For this, more specific work and family theories need to be utilized.

Occupational linkage hypothesis and work socialization theory. Kohn (1969) originally wrote about the occupational linkage hypothesis as a way of connecting fathers' work experiences to sons' psychological attributes. Mortimer and Kumka (1982) mapped out Kohn's ideas as a sequence of events that led from fathers' occupational characteristics to sons' psychological attributes. Specifically, the father's occupational characteristics (work complexity) influence his psychological attributes (values) which leads to specific socialization practices in the home which in turn influences children's psychological attributes. Ryu and Mortimer (1996) further extended this chain of events to support the notion that children's psychological attributes lead to personal value formation.

This sequence of events has implications for the direct link between parental employment and children's outcomes. Specifically, it proposes that paternal work itself directly influences fathers' socializing behaviors. From this perspective, sons' socialization experiences, even passive observations as described by Bandura (1969), are impacted by paternal work experiences which are internalized by the father (Kohn, 1969; Mortimer & Kumka, 1982; Ryu & Mortimer, 1996).

The major limitation of the occupation linkage hypothesis is the sole inclusion of father-son dyads, with the exclusion of both mothers and daughters (Kohn, 1969; Mortimer & Kumka, 1982; Ryu & Mortimer, 1996). Parcel and Menaghan (1994) were successful in addressing this limitation. The work socialization theory grew out of this investigation and indicated that both maternal and paternal work complexity and work control are specific elements of work that both mothers and fathers frequently internalize. The psychological characteristics of work – primarily work complexity and control – are associated with parents' views of the importance of controlling both sons' and daughters' behavior. Parents with more complexity and control at

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work tend to value children's internalizing control mechanisms and children being less likely to seek control from outside sources. These differing values indicate that the style of parent-child interactions vary as a function of specific elements of parental employment. Parents are likely to praise children's use of internal controls in families in which parents have more complexity and control at work than in families in which parents have little complexity and control at work.

The occupational linkage hypothesis and work socialization theory provide a major foundation for research on the links between parental employment and children's outcomes. Together these theories argue that work complexity and control are related to parents' socializing interactions with children. These interactions, in turn, affect children's psychological attributes and adolescents' value formation (Kohn, 1969; Mortimer & Kumka, 1982; Parcel & Menaghan, 1994; Ryu & Mortimer, 1996).

There is a lack of a strong theoretical framework for research on work and family. However, when utilizing a combination of well-established theories and emerging theories, work and family research is given an adequate foundation. Ecological systems model contributes an understanding of how parental employment indirectly influences children's environment. Social learning theory provides evidence that children attend to parental behaviors and communication, and this attention affects how children react to similar experiences. Finally, the occupational linkage hypothesis and work socialization theory provides an argument for how parental work experiences are translated to children's outcomes. It takes multiple theoretical foundations to inform research on children's experiences with work and family, but taken together there is evidence that parental employment has an impact on children's outcomes.

Children's Perceptions of the World of Work

Most children do not actively participate in the world of work. However, this does not mean they do not have their own perceptions of paid employment. Children are surprisingly knowledgeable about the world of work, and specifically about parental employment. The assertion that children are knowledgeable about the world of work has led many researchers (e.g., Bowes & Goodnow, 1996; Liben, Bigler, & Krogh, 2001; Rosenthal & Hansen, 1981) to investigate the potential outcomes associated with children's knowledge of parental employment, or adult employment in general.

Even young children have knowledge of the world of work (Abramovitch & Johnson, 1992). Children have beliefs about various elements of adult work, such as why adults work. These beliefs are often mirrored in adult reports of reasons for working (Bowes & Goodnow, 1996; Chaves, Diemer, Blustein, Gallagher, DeVoy, Casares, & Perry, 2004). The most frequently cited reason for working given by children was to earn money.

Children view getting money as the primary reason for working. However, children disagreed in the reasons for needing money; some children reported needing money for the family, being able to provide a home, food, and other necessities for the family. Other children reported working for money to purchase luxuries such as a new car, electronic equipment, or a bigger home (Chaves et al., 2004). Bowes and Goodnow (1996) hypothesized that children who view money as the primary reason for working may have unrealistic expectations about the wages different jobs earned. Contrary to this prediction, children were able to fairly accurately rank a list of jobs, some of which were well-known jobs and others that were unusual jobs, based on the average reported pay of each job. This knowledge may be influenced by viewing money as the primary reason for working, but it may be this knowledge that influences children's view of the reasons adults work.

Even though most children frequently assume that adults work for money, children also cite other reasons for adult employment. The next most frequently cited reason by children is to help others. Children recognize that some adults work for the social benefits, rather than for monetary compensation. However, some children report that adults help others at work for personal fulfillment, rather than for a social benefit (Chaves et al., 2004).

Children learn about the world of work through experiences at school or through witnessing parental work experiences. Children may learn about the positive and negative attributes of a worker as well as worker's general experiences such as gender stereotypical work, like having a mother work as a teacher and a father as a professional (Chaves et al., 2004). Sinno and Killen (2005) found that children have ideas about what jobs are typically done by males and which jobs are typically done by females. Children are able to accurately identify stereotypical feminine and masculine jobs; in fact, the children's reports are often reflections of adult reports of gender stereotypical work. However, children differ from adults in their attitude toward adults breaking the gender stereotypes when choosing a career; they are more accepting of men doing traditionally feminine jobs and women doing traditionally masculine jobs than are most adults (Sinno & Killen, 2005).

Children also recognize that some adults enjoy their jobs, and others do not enjoy their work (Bowes & Goodnow, 1996; Chaves et al., 2004). Children have been given the message that hard work is rewarded in the world of work. The reward may be monetary or social. Chaves et al. (2004) reported that children from low socioeconomic status neighborhoods perceive hard work as a method to get themselves out of their current living situation. Children often view the rewards of work as indicative of the enjoyment adults feel in their job.

It has been documented that children have significant knowledge of the world of work. Researchers (e.g. Abramovitch & Johnson, 1992; Piotrkowski & Stark, 1987; Trimberger & MacLean, 1982) have turned to examining children's awareness of specific elements of adult work. In order to do this, children's perceptions of their parents' employment have been examined.

Children's perceptions of their parents' employment. Children gain the most knowledge about the world of work through their parents' work experiences. Researchers have looked at children's perceptions of maternal employment (e.g. Trimberger & MacLean, 1982), as well as children's perceptions of tangible and intangible work elements (e.g. Piotrkowski & Stark, 1987). These researchers found, surprisingly, that children were fairly knowledgeable about many elements of parental employment.

Children are knowledgeable about more concrete elements of parental employment. Abramovitch and Johnson (1992) found that children could fairly accurately report what it is that their parents do at work. Children could report on the activities parents participated in at work; however, the job titles of their parents were often more difficult for children to correctly identify. Children also can fairly accurately describe when and where parents work, which can include the physical environment as well as the social environment and interactions with supervisors (Abramovitch & Johnson, 1992; Piotrkowski & Stark, 1982). Children have also been shown to accurately report the "general idea" of when parents usually work (e.g. days and shifts that parents work), although Abramovitch and Johnson (1992) did not describe how they defined "general idea."

One classic study on children's perceptions of parental employment was conducted by Piotrkowski and Stark (1987). These investigators were one of the first to look at the accuracy of

children's (and parents') reports of parental employment. The research team also attempted to identify how children might learn about parental work characteristics. The main argument presented by Piotrkowski and Stark was that children are very knowledgeable about parental work. However, the researchers were also curious about whether children knew more about maternal or paternal employment, and what specifically the children knew.

Piotrkowski and Stark (1987) studied 58 children from 46 dual-earner families. The families all had fathers who were employed either at a local aerospace factory or the post office. The families were sent questionnaires through the mail asking parents to report on their jobs, marriage, mental health, and various personal statistics; mothers were asked to report on the father-child relationship as well. Children were questioned about parent's work, their own occupational aspirations and values, their relationship with each parent, as well as personal information.

Children were more knowledgeable about maternal employment than paternal employment. These children also indicated making more visits to their mother's workplace than their father's workplace, as well as having more discussions about maternal employment than paternal employment.   Piotrkowski and Stark (1987) found that children were more knowledgeable about the more concrete elements of work than the abstract elements. Children were able to accurately report on the physical environments and the job demands (i.e., working hard) of their parents' workplace. Children knew less about the intangible elements of parent's work (e.g., job control or work pace). Given these two findings together, the researchers anticipated children being relatively unaware of concepts such as parental feelings of work-family conflict and job security. However, significant associations were found between children's and parents' reports on these topics. Unfortunately, the researchers were unable to

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identify the mechanisms (such as parent-child communication patterns) that led to children's awareness of these characteristics of work.

Piotrkowski and Stark (1987) found that children were less knowledgeable about the intangible elements than the tangible elements of parental employment. Specifically, children did not know about job control or work pacing. However, the authors' finding that children were aware of parents' feelings of job security has been replicated by a few other researchers (e.g. Abramovitch & Johnson, 1992; Barling, Dupre, & Hepburn, 1998). Other researchers have found that children also report fairly accurately on parental job satisfaction (Abramovitch & Johnson, 1992) and parental work attitudes (Kelloway & Newton, 1996).

Although these intangible elements of parental employment tend to be more elusive for children, it has been documented that children do have some knowledge about these elements of parental employment. The accuracy of children's knowledge often depends on children's attachment to one parent over the other. Children tend to be more knowledgeable about the parent to whom they have the strongest attachment (Barling, Dupre, & Hepburn, 1998). Piotrkowski and Stark (1987) also demonstrated that children who actively experience parental work (e.g., visit parent's workplace or possibly discuss work with parents) have more knowledge about parental employment.

Opportunities for Children to Gain Knowledge about Paternal Employment.

As dual-earner families have become the norm in society, investigators have made considerable efforts to understand how this family form affects the partners in the dual-earner relationship as well as the children in these families. Research has focused on the dual-earner couple, how work matters for both partners and the impact on the family, as well as parenting behaviors unique to the dual-earner family. Studies have been able to recognize and identify

both positive outcomes and negative outcomes for all family members (e.g. Barnett, Marshall, Raudenbush, & Brennan 1993; Bolger, DeLongis, Kessler, & Wethington, 1989; Roberts & Levenson, 2001).

The dual-earner couple. Investigators began observing dual-earner couples while trying to figure out what makes these relationships different than single-earner families. Several trends appeared that seem to characterize the dual-earner family. Primarily, both partners are affected by this family form.

Dual-earner fathers usually take on more of the routine household work and childcare on a regular basis than do fathers in single-earner families; however, they tend not to fill in for their wives during especially busy or stressful times (Bolger, et al., 1989). The wives in both single-earner and dual-earner families, however, do tend to fill in (or compensate) for their husbands during the busy or stressful times. The trend for mothers to fill in for father's lack of participation in the home suggests that the father's job may be viewed as more central to the family. Children are more likely to observe the changes in father's home participation due to the changes in work experiences, and therefore become more knowledgeable about father's jobs. It is conceivable that children will be more influenced by the work experiences of the parent about whom they are most knowledgeable (Bolger et al., 1989; Roberts & Levenson, 2001).

Outside of completing household tasks, dual earner families differ in their ability to deal with balancing work and family. In dual-earner families both partners are subject to job-related stresses. Barnett, Marshall, Raudenbush, and Brennan (1993) review historical research that has implied that only men experience work related stress because men's employment is considered primary where familial obligations are secondary; again, this indicates that father's employment is more often the focus in families. Employed women were thought to consider family as their

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primary obligation, whereas employment outside the home was considered secondary. However, both men and women in dual-earner families have reported feeling job related stress (Barnett, Marshall, Raudenbush, & Brennan, 1993; Roberts & Levenson, 2001). This implies that parental employment (both maternal and paternal) may be noticeable to children. However, given the tendency for mothers to focus on their home role, children still may be more likely to have knowledge about paternal employment.

The work-related stresses felt by each partner in a dual-earner family are often brought home and may even be exacerbated by one's spouse. The work-family conflict felt by one partner affects the work-family conflict felt by the other partner. This pattern may be illustrated by a cycle of increasing pressure to meet both work and family obligations. However, it may also be the case that individuals are able to relieve their spouse's family obligations through a compensation model. As previously mentioned, wives tend to fill-in for their husbands more often than husbands fill-in for their wives, which has implications for children's perceptions of parental employment (Bolger et al., 1989; Roberts & Levenson, 2001).

Bolger et al. (1989) examined how one partner's stress level was related to the other partner's stress level in dual-earner families. The researchers recruited 166 married couples from a larger Detroit area sample who had participated in a research study on marital stress and coping. The 166 dual-earner couples that participated in the second stage were asked to keep a daily diary in which a list of common daily stressors was listed for each day and partners were asked to check off as many stressors as they had experienced in the past 24 hours.

Bolger et al. (1989) used seven of the stressors listed in the daily diaries that indicated overload at home or work and interpersonal stressors. The researchers found men reported more work-related stressors than women, while women reported more home-related stressors than

men. This may be interpreted as the men being more invested in work than women, and women are more invested in the home than men. This could mean that children learn more about fathers' employment due to the fact that it is seen as central to fathers' identity. Overall for both men and women, work-related stresses were negatively related to home stresses. For women specifically, spouse's work-related overload was positively correlated with their own home-related overload. The authors indicated that this may be due to the fact that wives tend to try to protect their husbands from feeling overload at home after a difficult time at work. Again, this points to men's role as a worker being central to the family.

Dual-earner couples often feel more work-family conflict than single earner couples. However, researchers have investigated the partnership characteristics that mitigate the increased stress level. Two major themes have become apparent to researchers, marital role satisfaction and parental status.

Dual-earner couples' parental status matters for the overall feeling of work-family conflict. Barnett (1994) explains that previous research has noted that people with more roles tend to feel less stress about their various roles. The counterintuitive finding reported by Barnett and Bolger et al. (1989) has been fairly stable over time. Therefore, dual-earner couples with children feel less work and family conflict than childless couples. One interpretation of this pattern is that children play an active role in helping parents deal with work-family conflict and stress.

Spillover in dual-earner families. Barnett (1994) noted the historical tendency for men to be considered the primary earner in families, which led to the assumption that employed men were the only ones to have work affect their later mood and feelings. However, the spillover effect -- the tendency for feelings in one aspect of an employed person's life to affect another

aspect of that person's life -- is not gender specific. In fact, Roberts and Levenson (2001) report that employment status (e.g. full-time employment, part-time employment) is a more accurate predictor of spillover than gender. Women and men experience equivalent spillover when employment status is held constant. This equivalent spillover does not have equivalent impact on partners though. Men's spillover has a greater impact on women than women's spillover has on men, reinforcing the idea that men's job is more of a central focus in families than a woman's job (Barnett, 1994; Roberts & Levenson, 2001).

Spillover can occur through two specific methods. It can occur from home to work or more commonly from work to home. Roberts and Levenson (2001) study the work to home spillover. It is common for negative work experiences to affect a worker's mood and feelings at home. Specifically during episodes of high stress or exhausting work, the worker's mood and feelings are often negative at home. This emotional display has been shown to be easily detected by close family members, including children, through physiological responses to their partner's actions and facial expressions.

Repetti (1989), using a sample of male air traffic controllers, found that daily workload indicated a change in spousal interactions at home. Specifically, during both objectively stressful days (low visibility and high traffic volume) and subjectively stressful days (feeling there were difficult conditions or a busy day) husband's behavior at home fluctuated. On the high workload days, husbands were more likely to socially withdraw from their wives and less likely to participate in overtly aggressive or angry interactions with their wives. Wives reported being sensitive to their husbands when the husbands reported high subjective workload scores. This demonstrates that close family members have the capability to detect the daily work-related

stress variations. It is conceivable that even children have the capability to pick up on their

parents' work-related mood and feelings as well as witnessing parental withdrawal.

The unique challenges that dual-earner families face are further complicated when

children are introduced. More often it is the mother's role that becomes more hectic, illustrating

that father's job is more central to family because the father tends to not take on additional

home-related roles than do mothers. Children are likely to become knowledgeable about father's

work due to the tendency for families to place the father's job at the center of the family's

functioning. This can be illustrated by the manner in which mothers' tend to compensate for

fathers' absence due to work obligations, which is not a pattern seen in fathers. Although parents

are adapting to the dual-earner family form, many families have concerns about meeting the

needs of both work and family (Costigan, Cox, & Cauce, 2003). The family communication

process is one process that may provide an insight into how parental employment affects both

children and parents.

Opportunities for Children to Gain Knowledge about Maternal Employment

Family systems rely on communication to keep track of individual family members as

well as the family as a whole. Research has repeatedly reported that families prosper when

employing open communication characterized by self-disclosure (e.g. Caughlin, 2003; Farrell &

Barnes, 1993). This open communication style does not matter for any one family member more

than another; children and parents alike, benefit.

Children's disclosure to parents has been more frequently studied than parents' disclosure

to children. Stattin and Kerr (2000) found that parents often rely on children's self-disclosure to

track children's daily activities. Parents find the use of children's self-disclosure necessary,

especially in dual-earner families in which it is more likely that neither parent is available to

physically monitor children's behavior. Given the findings that children's self-disclosure is a central part of the parent-child relationship, it can be inferred that parents disclosure to children may also play a role in the relationship.

Open communication. Open communication, or self-disclosure, is highly valued in the United States. Caughlin (2003) reports that families' communication style is strongly related to relationship satisfaction. All family members report higher levels of satisfaction with intra-familial relationships when families are characterized by open communication than when families utilize a less open communication style. This implies that children will feel more satisfied when parents openly communicate with them. Farrell and Barnes (1993) found that open family communication created family cohesion. Family cohesion was also found to significantly contribute to an adolescent's psychological functioning. Open communication between parents and children is associated with adolescent psychological health (Caughlin, 2003; Farrell & Barnes, 1993).

Open communication has an impact, albeit indirect, on one aspect of children's well-being, their psychological well-being. In a study by Dolgin (1996), parental communication with children was investigated. The investigator was interested in why parents communicated with children about a variety of topics ranging from not at all intimate (e.g. plans with friends) to extremely intimate (e.g. parent's own personal health).

Dolgin (1996) recruited a sample of 372 parents (177 fathers and 195 mothers) of college freshman taking an introduction to psychology course. Students were given surveys to distribute to their mother, father, or both. The surveys had two sections; the first section asked parents to indicate (yes, no, or not applicable) whether they had discussed a variety of topics with their child. These topics had been compiled during a pilot testing, in which adults were asked to list

topics they discuss with friends or family members. The second part of the parent survey asked

parents to choose the reasons for discussing the various topics. Respondents were instructed to

select as many as they would like from the list of nine options ("conveying information",

"receiving information", "venting anger or frustration", "need for emotional support", "sharing

good news", "seeking advice", "to feel closer to the child", "to change the child's behavior", or

"other;" Dolgin, 1996, p. 162).

When all discussion topics were considered together, parents reported discussing the

various topics as a means to convey information to the child. Interestingly, parents who reported

that a major reason for discussion was to convey information simultaneously were also likely to

emphasize that their disclosure was meant to change the child's behavior. Parents used their own

experiences to convey information to children about how the parent thinks the child's behavior

should be modified (Dolgin, 1996). Parents communicate because they want the child to learn

something; parental communication is viewed as a way to teach children. One interpretation and

extension of this idea is that parents may discuss work experiences in order to better connect

them to children's school and social lives. Parents may communicate about their employment to

influence children's behavior in school or social environments.

Overall, though, parents are not thought to be the primary disclosers of personal

information in the parent-child relationship. Research has long focused on children's open

communication and disclosure to parents (e.g., Stattin & Kerr, 2000). Finkenauer, Engels,

Branje, and Meeus (2004) note that parental disclosure and open communication is often not

researched due to the fact that parents disclose less to children than children disclose to parents.

However, this does not mean that parents are not disclosing personal information to children

(Dolgin, 1996; Finkenauer et al., 2004; Miller & Lane, 1991). Given the knowledge that parents

do openly communicate personal information to children, researchers (e.g. Dolgin, 1996; Farrell & Barnes, 1993) have looked at when and what specifically parents disclose.

Farrell and Barnes (1993) investigated situations when parents were discussing personal information with their children. Primarily, parents disclosed information to involve children in family decision making. Decisions ranged from mundane choices (e.g. dinner plans) to more serious decisions (e.g. moving to a new city). Children showed increased satisfaction in the family relationships when they were involved in helping make decisions that impacted not only themselves but their family members as well. Mothers were often the family member that informed children of the matters relating to the decision. This is consistent with the notion that mothers disclose more overall than fathers. This implies that working mothers are more likely to disclose information about employment to children than are fathers, meaning children may be more likely to learn about maternal employment through direct communication.

Building on the research by Farrell and Barnes (1993), several investigators have turned their attention to the topics parents are disclosing to their children. Dolgin (1996) asked parents if they discussed a variety of topics with their college freshmen children. The topics were assigned various levels of intimacy. Parents were frequently disclosing very intimate topics (e.g., fears about the future, or romantic relationships) to their children. Finkenauer et al. (2004) and Miller and Lane (1991) also found that parents do disclose highly intimate information; however, this information is generally disclosed only to middle to late adolescent children. Additionally, mothers reported disclosing intimate information much more frequently than fathers reported disclosing the same information. This trend suggests that parents, particularly mothers, may disclose intimate information regarding work, such as relationships with co-workers.

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More than sensitive topics, however, parents are likely to disclose ordinary, less intimate information to children. Topics such as career plans, retirement goals, and siblings' activities are discussed more frequently by both mothers and fathers than are the more intimate topics. Regardless of the topic, fathers still disclose significantly less than do mothers even when children's gender is considered. It has often been hypothesized that parents will disclose more ordinary information to same-sex children. Indeed, evidence shows that fathers disclose more to sons than to daughters and mothers disclose more to daughters than to sons (Caughlin, 2003; Dolgin, 1996; Miller & Lane, 1991). However, mothers disclose more to sons than fathers disclose to daughters (Caughlin, 2003; Dolgin, 1996; Miller & Lane, 1991). Given this finding, it is not unreasonable to assume that children will be more knowledgeable about their mother's employment circumstances than father's employment, in particular in the mother-daughter relationships.

Although families most often learn about each other's daily activities through open communication and personal disclosure, this is not the only way families learn about each other. Family members frequently learn about each other through indirect communication as well. This is more often true for children than for parents.

The Impact of Parental Employment on Aspirations

Family plays a significant role in shaping many of the goals children set. Of particular interest here is the family's influence on children's educational aspirations and occupational aspirations. Although it would be naïve to consider family as the only influence on such aspirations, it is one of the major influential forces in children's lives.

Educational aspirations. The family is a strong predictor of children's educational ambitions. There have been several studies that have supported this idea, either by supporting

the general concept that family influences children's educational goals (e.g., Jodl, Mochael, Malanchuk, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2001;Teachman & Paasch, 1998) or by examining the mechanisms through which family influences children (e.g., Banducci, 1967; Wahl & Blackhurst, 2000). Such researchers have all defined educational aspirations in terms of long-term goals (e.g., the amount of education a child would complete given unlimited resources) instead of as short-term goals (e.g., getting a good grade in a class). In this manner it is easier to imagine the impact families can have on such goals given the socialization practices of families (Wahl & Blackhurst, 2000).

Teachman and Paasch (1998) were interested in establishing whether the family is a significant influencing factor in children's educational aspirations. The researchers examined the possibility that extra-familial factors were more significantly related to educational goals than intra-familial factors. However, this was not the case. They found that the variability in educational aspirations was greater between families than it was within families (i.e., between siblings) meaning that family factors were more predictive of educational aspirations than were non-family factors. This finding supported the popular notion that the family environment significantly impacts children's educational goal setting.

The specific channels through which families impact children's educational aspirations have received less attention than the inter-personal characteristics that similarly impact children's goals. Jodl et al. (2001) recognized this weakness and investigated the impact of parental psychological characteristics on children. Variables such as parental values and beliefs regarding education, which according to the occupational linkage hypothesis can be correlated with parental work experiences, had a significant impact on children's educational goals during middle to late childhood, but less impact during early to middle adolescence. It has been

hypothesized that during adolescence, career goals become more static as the adolescents begin altering their current educational paths to provide them with more opportunities to reach their ultimate goals.

Parental psychological characteristics are not the only familial processes that impact children's educational aspirations. Parental employment has a direct impact on such goals as well. In a classic study, Banducci (1967) found that children with an employed mother were more likely to aspire to a four-year college education than children with a full time homemaker mother; however, this trend was reversed for the sons in the highest socioeconomic status. This has implications for impact that socioeconomic status has on educational aspirations, such that children's aspirations do not tend to reflect the family's ability to provide the desired education (Banducci, 1967; Wahl & Blackhurst, 2000).

Occupational aspirations. Occupational aspirations are subject to influence from the family, just as educational aspirations. There are some unique mechanisms through which the influence is derived. Wahl and Blackhurst (2000) found that the family can influence occupational aspirations as early as kindergarten; but these influential capabilities begin to diminish in adolescence (Jodl, et al., 2001). Parental influence is different from the influence of any other family member; parents are often the source of children's most immediate exposure to occupational conditions (Blustein, 2004).

Children learn the most about setting occupational goals from their parents, especially the employed parents. Children learn to identify with a worker, typically a parent, which gives children the opportunity to learn about characteristics of a job they would ideally want (Wahl & Blackhurst, 2000). For example, a child may witness his or her father caring for elderly people and decide that he or she want a job that works with a similar population. Most of the literature

has not focused on the father's role in influencing occupational aspirations, but rather on the unique role of the mother.

Leslie (1986) argued that maternal employment or non-employment has an impact on children's occupational aspiration, particularly on daughter's occupational aspirations. Specifically, daughter's perceptions of their mother's satisfaction with her role, either as a working mother or a homemaker, had a direct impact on her goals to work or stay at home (Leslie, 1986; Wahl & Blackhurst, 2000). If the daughters perceived their mother as being satisfied with her role, the daughter was more likely to aspire to the same role; however, if the mother was seen as dissatisfied with her role, the daughter tended to aspire to occupy the opposite role of her mother (i.e. a dissatisfied working mother is more likely to result in a daughter aspiring to stay at home). Daughters were also influenced by how they thought their mother viewed having children, as costly or not costly. Mother's who were seen to view children as costly were more likely to produce children who wanted to work than were mothers who were seen to view children as not costly, regardless of mother's work status.

Children's aspirations are subject to influence from within the family. There is also a connection between children's educational aspirations and their occupational aspirations. It makes intuitive sense that children with higher educational aspirations held higher occupational aspirations (Jodl, et al., 2001). The interrelatedness of these goals suggests that consideration of educational or occupational aspirations cannot be considered alone, the two should be considered together.

The Present Study

The present study extends current research on children's knowledge of parental employment. It is based on the idea that parental self-disclosure about work are associated with

children's knowledge of parental work characteristics and parental work emotions, which ultimately are connected to children's aspirations (e.g., academic aspirations and occupational aspirations). This model has been adapted from the occupational linkage hypothesis (Kohn, 1969) as well as research supporting the notion that children have knowledge about parental employment (e.g., Abramovitch & Johnson, 1992; Chaves et al., 2004).

The general model that guides this research proposes three relationships of interest. The first hypothesis concerns fluctuating work emotions of parents and the degree of self-disclosure based on hypothetical daily work emotions:

Hypothesis 1: Parents will disclose about a good day at work to their children more than about a bad day at work; differences are predicted to exist between mothers and fathers.

Secondly, I am attempting to identify the specific parental communication mechanisms that relate to children's knowledge of characteristics of their parents' employment.

Hypothesis 2: Parents' self-disclosure about work will be positively correlated with children's knowledge of parents' work characteristics and parents' work emotions.

Finally, it is proposed that children's occupational and educational aspirations are related to children's perceptions of parental employment.

Hypothesis 3: Children's knowledge of parental work characteristics will mediate the relationship between parents' self-disclosure about work and children's educational and occupational aspirations. Children's knowledge of parental work experiences will be related to their educational and occupational aspirations (See Figure 1).

These three relationships provide new insights into children's knowledge of parental work characteristics and parental work emotions by examining parental work experiences and communication styles. This research also extends evidence that parental work impacts children's

Figure 1

The Mediational Model
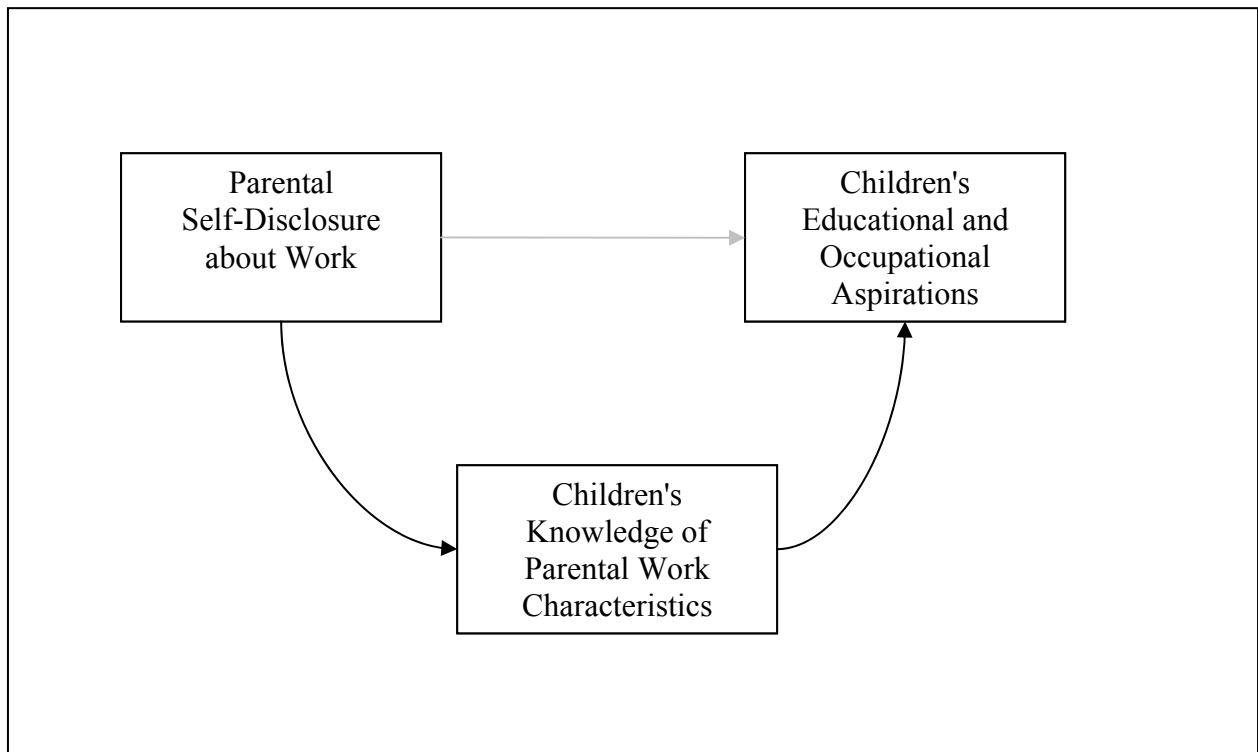
educational or occupational aspirations by suggesting that children's knowledge may be important.

<div align="center">Method</div>

Sample

Participants for the current study were recruited from an existing school-based longitudinal study of school climate and children's adjustment. The first phase of school-based data were collected in the fall of 2003 with students in 3rd, 4th, and 5th grades in three elementary schools. During the spring and summer of 2004, a sub-sample was contacted for a more in-depth home interview with the child and his or her parents. One year later, participating families as well as interested new third graders' families, were contacted and invited to be a part of the second phase of home interviews. Data for this investigation were drawn from the second year of home interviews.

Participants in the current study were third through sixth grade children and their mothers and fathers. A total of 113 children, 108 mothers, and 65 fathers were interviewed. Thirty-nine parents (36 mothers and 3 fathers) were excluded because they did not work outside the home. An additional five fathers were excluded because of incomplete information from either the child or the father, resulting in a sample for these analyses of 81 children, 72 mothers, and 57 fathers. Of the children remaining for analysis, 65 participated in the first wave of home interviews and the remaining 16 were new participants in the second wave of interviews; 34%of the children were in third grade, 19% were in fourth grade, 25% were in fifth grade, and 22% were in sixth grade in the spring of 2005. In families in which more than one child participated, each child was considered separately; parents were given separate surveys for each child and were instructed to think about each child individually when responding to the questionnaires.

Demographic characteristics of the participants included in phase two closely resemble the participants in the first phase of home interviews. Family ethnicity was fairly homogenous with 79% Caucasian families, 10% Asian Families, 10% reporting other ethnicities, and 1% not reporting on ethnicity; in addition 7% of the sample reported being Latino. The socioeconomic status of the families was determined through a proxy measure, specifically highest level of education completed by the parents. Parents reported on a scale ranging from one (completed sixth grade) to 8 (completed a Ph. D. or other professional training). The mean level of education completed by mothers was a Bachelor's Degree. Thirty-four percent of mothers completed a Bachelor's Degree, 31% completed less than a Bachelor's Degree (all mothers completed high school), and 35 % had completed post-Bachelor's Degrees. The mean level of education completed by fathers was a Bachelor's Degree, with 18% having the highest level of education completed being a Bachelor's Degree. Twenty-seven percent of the fathers had completed less than a Bachelor's Degree (all but one father had completed high school). Fifty-five percent had completed post-Bachelor's degrees. Most of the families participating reported being married (70%), 10% reported being divorced, 8% reported being unmarried but living with a partner, and 4% identified themselves as single. The remaining 8% were either remarried, widowed, or did not report marital status.

Procedures

Participants for the current research were recruited from three small-town Washington state elementary schools. A consent form was sent home with all third through fifth grade students, and parents were asked to give permission for their child to participate in the school-based study. On one portion of the consent form, parents had the opportunity to give their phone number if they were interested in being contacted regarding participation in home interviews.

Research assistants called interested families to describe the study in more detail and to schedule an interview date and time. Families were told that the interview was estimated to last one and one half to two hours.

Interviews were conducted in families' homes. The family and the research team met initially as a group to discuss issues related to parental consent and confidentiality. Participants were told that their participation was voluntary and they could skip any questions they wanted to skip, and, if desired, end the interview at any time. Families were then given a fifty-dollar payment and the parents and children were interviewed in separate areas of the home in order to protect the confidentiality of both parents and children. A minimum of two researchers conducted each interview; one researcher interviewed the parents while the other researcher interviewed the target child. In families with more than one child in the target grades (third through sixth), each family member had his or her own interviewer (e.g., one for mom, one for dad, and one for each child) in order to finish the interviews in the time allotted. Parents with more than one participating child were asked to think specifically about only one child at a time.

Interviewers read each item to child participants, who then wrote each response on the survey. Parents were given the option of having the surveys read aloud or to work on their own; regardless of whether the items were read aloud to parents, they still wrote their responses on the survey. Parents were instructed to work independently, without conferring with the other parent. The parents were also instructed to skip questions related to employment if they did not work for pay.

Measures

Parental self-disclosure about work. Parents and children were asked to report on parents' self-disclosure to children about their workday (See Appendix A for items; See

Appendix D for mean, standard deviation, and range). Parents were asked five questions relating to their communication about work to children. Parents were asked to report on how often they volunteered information about their workday to their child (e.g., "How often do you tell your child, without being asked, when you have had a [good/bad] day at work?"), how often they intentionally withheld information about their workday from their child (e.g., "How often do you decide NOT to tell your child when you have had a [good/bad] day at work?"), and how often the child asked the parent about his or her workday. Parents responded on a five-point Likert-type response scale from "almost never" to "almost always." Disclosure items were summed to create an overall disclosure score, as well as separate scores reflecting good day self-disclosure and bad day self-disclosure.

Children were asked more detailed questions about parental communication about daily work experiences. Specifically, boys and girls were asked how they learned about the nature of their parents' workday (i.e., good day versus bad day). For each work emotion (good day and bad day) for a total of eight items, children were asked how often their parents used four different communication techniques. In these analyses, two items regarding parental self-disclosure about work will be used (i.e., "My mother usually tells me this without being asked."). Children were asked to indicate the frequency with which their parents used a specific form of communication on a five-point Likert-type scale ranging from "almost never" to "almost always".

Parental disclosure was measured based on the emotional experiences of parents at work. The measure of disclosure on a good day was measured by one item (i.e., "How often do you tell your child, without being asked, when you have had a really good day at work?") for parent reports (mothers: M = 3.6, S.D. = 1.0; fathers: M=2.8, S.D.=0.9) and disclosure on a bad day

was measured by two items (i.e., "How often do you tell your child, without being asked, when you have had a really bad day at work?" and "How often do you decide NOT to tell your child when you have had a really bad day at work?" mothers: M = 6.0, S.D. = 2.1; fathers: M=5.5, S.D.=1.5). Items reflecting parents' intentionally not disclosing about good days at work were omitted because they were not sufficiently correlated with the other good day disclosure item. Children's reports of parental disclosure were measured by one item each for good days (mothers: M = 2.8, S.D. = 1.1; fathers: M=2.5, S.D.=1.3) and bad days (mothers: M = 2.5, S.D. = 1.3; fathers: M=2.3, S.D.=1.3). Good day and bad day items were also combined to form one variable, mothers' disclosure about work (mother report: three items; M = 9.6, S.D. = 2.5; child report: two items; M=5.3, S.D.=2.2) and fathers' disclosure about work (father report: three items; M=8.3, S.D.=1.6; child report: two items; M=4.8, S.D.=2.4).

Children's awareness of parents' work experiences. Parents and children were asked to report on the emotional characteristics of their parents' work experiences (i.e., having a good day at work or a bad day at work; see Appendix B for items; See Appendix D for mean, standard deviation, and range). Children's knowledge of parental work emotions were measured using four questions (two each about mothers and fathers) were asked to children about how often they know when their parent has had a good day or a bad day at work. As with parents, children responded on a five-point Likert-type response scale from "almost never" to "almost always".

Children's knowledge of parental work characteristics. Children's perceptions of parental employment were measured by asking both children and parents to report on elements of parental employment (see Appendix B for items; See Appendix D for mean, standard deviation, and range). Parents' responses were used to establish the accuracy of children's reports. Parents were asked two open-ended questions in which they indicated the time that they

typically leave home to go to work and the time they typically arrive home from work (e.g., "What time do you leave for work on an average workday?"). Children were asked the same open-ended question as parents, and were asked to report separately on mothers and fathers (e.g., "What time does your [father/mother] usually go to work?").

Parents were also asked three additional questions about their work experiences. Parents were asked to respond on a four-point Likert-type scale from "frequently" to "not at all", about their overnight traveling (e.g., "Does your job require you to travel overnight?"). Parents were then responded "yes" or "no" to questions about the presence of a supervisor and their own supervisory responsibilities (e.g., "Do you supervise others at your job?").

Children were asked three questions about each parent that mirrored the questions given to their parents. All questions were provided with a four-point Likert-type scale from "a lot" to "not at all." A fifth response option was "I don't know." Children were asked to report on the frequency with which their parents travel overnight, are supervised, and supervise others (e.g., "Does your [father/mother] have to travel overnight for her job?").

The first step in examining the response patterns of the participants in the present study was to create a match variable reflecting the degree to which children's reports of parental work characteristics were in agreement with parents' reports. This was done by calculating the differences between child's report and the corresponding parent's report. For the overnight travel, differences could range from zero to three, with zero indicating an exact match and three indicating a complete mismatch. For supervisor items, children's reports were collapsed such that a score of 3 ("most of the time") or 4 ("almost always") was converted to a score of one and matching parent report of "yes;" a score of 1 ("not at all") or 2 ("only a little") was converted to a score of zero, matching parent report of "no."

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The process was slightly different for children's and parents' reports on the times parents leave for work and get home from work. The first step was to subtract children's reports from parents' reports. The distribution was then examined to determine the time increments that classified children's knowledge into three categories. A difference of 15 minutes or less received a score of 1, differences between 15 and 30 minutes received a score of 2, and a difference greater than 30 minutes received a score of 3. Next, all match scores were standardized before summing to ensure all variables weighted equally, the result was a match score that reflects children's knowledge of several parental work characteristics. The match score was calculated so that a higher score indicated more knowledge.

Children's knowledge of parental work emotions. Another knowledge variable was considered as well, particularly the degree to which children are aware of parental work emotions (see Appendix B for items; See Appendix D for mean, standard deviation, and range). One item (child report) reflected how often children were aware of parents' good days at work (mothers: M = 3.6, S.D. = 1.1; fathers: 3.6, S.D.=1.3) and bad days at work (mothers: M = 3.7, S.D. = 1.3; fathers: M=3.5, S.D.=1.4). These items were used to examine whether disclosure was related to children's knowledge of parental work emotions.

Children's occupational and educational aspirations. Children were administered a measure asking about occupational and educational aspirations (See Appendix C for items; See Appendix D for mean, standard deviation, and range). The measure included four questions. Children were asked how much education they expected to complete. Responses ranged from "I do not expect to complete high school" to "I expect to complete an advanced degree (such as a M.D., J. D., or Ph. D.)". Then children were asked an open-ended question in which they indicated the job they thought they were most likely to have as an adult.

Children's aspirations were measured using two items. Children were asked about educational aspirations on a scale ranging from one (not expecting to complete high school) to seven (obtaining an advanced degree, such as a doctorate, M = 5.6, S.D. = 1.5). Occupational aspirations were measured by an open-ended question asking what children thought was the most likely occupation to have as an adult. Responses were then coded based on the NORC coding system (Nakao & Treas, 1994), which ranged from a minimum score of 16.78 (e.g., miscellaneous food preparation worker) to a maximum score of 86.05 (e.g., physician; M = 56.5, S.D. = 17.4).

Plan of Analysis

There are several relationships the present study addresses empirically. First, the present research examines whether parents report varying degrees of self-disclosure (e.g., parent self-disclosure) based on the nature of their workday (i.e., good day versus bad day). T-tests detect possible differences between mothers' and fathers' self disclosure, and a difference between disclosure about a good day at work or a bad day at work.

The second relationship to consider in the analyses is that of parental self-disclosure and children's knowledge of parental work characteristics (e.g., what time the parent leaves for work) and children's knowledge of parental work emotions (e.g., if the parent had a good day at work). For purposes of clarity and brevity, parental self-disclosure will be operationalized using mothers' and fathers' reports of disclosure, but not children's reports. In testing this hypothesis, parental disclosure about good days and bad days will be examined in these analyses only (other analyses will utilize parents' global self-disclosure about work).

The final relationship of consideration in the present study is that between children's knowledge of parental employment and children's educational and occupational aspirations.

This will be done by testing whether children's knowledge about work mediates a possible association between parental self-disclosure about work and children's aspirations. Socioeconomic status will serve as a control variable, when necessary, in order to rule out parental occupational prestige as a confounding variable.

Results

Parental Self-Disclosure about Work

Hypothesis one, which states that parents will self-disclose about work more frequently after a good day at work than after a bad day at work, was examined through a series of t-tests. First, both mothers' and fathers' reports of disclosing about a good day at work were compared to their reports of disclosing about a bad day at work. Mothers reported disclosing more to their children about good days at work than bad days at work (t (71)=3.81, p<.001). Fathers did not disclose more about good days than bad days at work (t (56)=0.72,p>.05). The next comparison was done between mothers' reports of self-disclosure about work and fathers' reports of self-disclosure about work. Comparing mothers and fathers within the same family revealed that mothers self-disclosed to children about work more often than fathers (t (48)=3.71, p<.001).

Hypothesis two stated that parents' self-disclosure about work would be positively correlated with children's knowledge of parental employment. The correlations between mothers' report of disclosure and children's knowledge of parental work characteristics were not significant (r=.19, p>.05). The corresponding analyses for fathers' report of disclosure and children's knowledge of parental work characteristics showed a trend level association (r=.23, p<.10).

Further analyses examined the relations between parental disclosure and children's knowledge of parental work emotions (e.g., good or bad days at work). Mothers' reports of

disclosure after having a good day at work were significantly correlated with children's knowledge of mothers' good days at work ($r=.34$, $p<.01$); this pattern was not found for fathers ($r=.09$, $p>.05$). Interestingly, this pattern was not the same for mother's disclosure about bad days at work and children's knowledge of bad days. Children's knowledge of mothers' bad day at work was not associated with mothers' disclosure about a bad day at work ($r=0.18$, $p>.05$), a pattern also found with fathers ($r=.11$, $p>.05$). A regression model was run to test the degree to which mothers' self-disclosure acted as a predictor of children's knowledge of mothers' work emotions (see Table 1). When maternal reports of disclosure about good days were entered into a regression as a predictor variable with children's knowledge of good days as the outcome, the standardized beta for disclosure was significant ($\beta=0.44$, $p<.001$), even when disclosure about bad days and children's grade were also entered. Similar analyses with fathers did not show an equivalent relationship.

Children's Educational and Occupational Aspirations

Children's knowledge of maternal work characteristics was unrelated to occupational aspirations. In particular, the correlation between aspirations and children's knowledge of maternal work characteristics did not approach significance ($r=.09$, $p>.05$). Further analyses using children's knowledge of maternal work emotions (i.e., good day versus bad day) resulted in a similar pattern. Similarly, a non-significant correlation was found between mother's cumulative self-disclosure and children's occupational aspirations ($r=.03$, $p.>05$). Finally, children's knowledge of parental work emotions were not have significantly correlated with children's occupational aspirations (good day: $r=-.07$, $p>.05$; bad day: $r=-.04$, $p>.05$). Taken together, these findings provide evidence that children's knowledge of maternal employment and mothers' self-disclosure may be unrelated to children's educational and occupational aspirations.

Table 1

Children's Knowledge and Mothers' Disclosure

Predictor Variable	B	SE B	β	Model R^2
Outcome: Child's Knowledge of Mother's Good Day at Work				
Mothers' Report of Disclosure about a Good Day at Work	.50	.13	.44***	
Mothers' Report of Disclosure about a Bad Day at Work	.04	.64	.07	
Child's Grade in School	-.15	.11	-.16	
				.21**
Outcome: Children's Knowledge of Mother's Work Characteristics				
Mothers' Report of Disclosure about a Good Day at Work	.02	.29	.00	
Mothers' Report of Disclosure about a Bad Day at Work	.23	.14	.09	
Child's Grade in School	.49	.23	.04	
				.12*

Note: * p<.05, ** p<.01, *** p<.001

When considering fathers, however, a unique relationship was found. The correlation between children's knowledge and children's occupational aspirations was not significant (r=-.08, p>.05). However, when the direct relationship between fathers' self-disclosure and children's occupational aspirations was examined, a trend-level association emerged. Particularly, father's report of self-disclosure about bad days at work was marginally associated with children's occupational aspirations (r=.24, p<.10). The combined self-disclosure variable (i.e., both good day and bad day) was not related to occupational aspirations (r=.08, p>.05). Children's knowledge of parental work emotions was unrelated to occupational aspirations (good day: r=.12, p>.05; bad day: r=.15, p>.05).

Educational aspirations were also examined in place of occupational aspirations in the previous analyses as well. When focusing on mother-child analyses, there were no significant associations. Particularly, children's knowledge of mothers' work emotions were not related to children's educational aspirations (knowledge of good days: r=.05, p>.05; knowledge of bad days: r=.06, p>.05). Also, mothers' reports of disclosing were unrelated to children's educational aspirations as well (disclosure on good days: r=-.01, p>.05; disclosure on bad days: r=-.05, p>.05). This suggests that children's educational aspirations are not influenced by mother's self-disclosure about work or children's knowledge of mothers' emotional work experiences.

A set of similar analyses predicted children's educational aspirations from fathers' self-disclosure about work and children's knowledge of fathers' work characteristics and emotional work experiences. Children's knowledge of father's work characteristics were related to children's educational aspirations (r=-.29, p<.05). When children's knowledge of fathers' work characteristics, fathers' disclosure on good days, fathers' disclosure on bad days, child's grade,

and fathers' educational level were entered into a regression model to predict educational aspirations, the model was significant (r^2=.42, p<.001). Children's knowledge of father's work characteristics, fathers' disclosure on good days, and fathers' education level each predicted children's educational aspirations (see Table 2). Controlling for fathers' educational level, children's knowledge of fathers' work characteristics were negatively associated with children's educational aspirations, while fathers' self disclosure about good days at work were positively associated with children's educational aspirations. However, the results were opposite from what was hypothesized. Although these findings provide no support for the hypothesized model, it appears that both children's knowledge and parental self-disclosure independently predict children's educational aspirations.

Discussion

The findings of the present study have several implications for our understanding of how work and family intersect. In particular, the findings emphasize the role of parental communication in explaining how parental employment impacts children. This research also demonstrates the importance of communication for both children's knowledge about parental employment and children's educational and occupational aspirations.

Synopsis and Implications of Results

The analyses of the present study indicate that parental communication about work has implications for children. Mothers' and fathers' self-disclosure about work follows the predicted patterns; specifically, mothers self-disclose to children more often than do fathers, and when mothers self-disclose they are more likely to disclose about good days than bad days. This finding is consistent with past research (e.g., Dolgin, 1996) on family communication, which finds that mothers are more likely to actively communicate than fathers, and they are more likely

Table 2

Children's Knowledge, Fathers' Disclosure, and Children's Aspirations

Predictor Variable	B	SE B	β	Model R^2
Outcome: Children's Educational Aspirations				
Children's Knowledge of Father's Work Characterisitcs	-.24	.08	-.40**	
Father's Self-Dislcosure about a Good Day at Work	.69	.23	.42**	
Father's Self-Disclosure about a Bad Day at work	-.21	.26	-.11	
Fathers' Education Completed	.50	.14	.51***	
Child's Grade in School	.37	.20	.26	
				.42***

Note: * p<.05, ** p<.01, *** p<.001

to communicate to teach children prosocial skills. Perhaps mothers self-disclose about their work day as a tool to discuss prosocial behavior and problem-solving skills.

Although mothers did tend to disclose more than fathers about work-related issues, fathers' disclosure was more strongly related to children's knowledge of parental work characteristics and children's aspirations than was mothers' disclosure. Fathers' self-disclosure about work was positively correlated with children's knowledge of fathers' work characteristics. (This association only reached trend-level significance, which may be due to the small sample of fathers in this study).   This finding is consistent with the concept that fathers' work is more central to the family's functioning than is mothers' work (e.g., Bolger et al., 1989; Roberts & Levenson, 2001). Past research has made the case that children are impacted by fathers' employment more significantly than by mothers' employment due to fathers seeing employment outside the home as being a significant part of their identity.

Also, children may have more opportunities to learn about their mother's work than about fathers' work. For example, Abramovitch and Johnson (1992) found that children more often visited mothers at work than fathers. Therefore, children's knowledge of mother's work characteristics may be influenced by a number of factors, including the amount of time the child spends visiting the mother at work. Children's knowledge of their fathers' work experiences may be influenced more exclusively by the extent of fathers' self-disclosure; which is more likely to focus on less intimate work information, as proposed by Finkenauer et al. (2004) and Miller and Lane (1991).

Whereas it was predicted that children's knowledge of parents work characteristics would mediate the relationship between parents' self-disclosure and children's educational and occupational aspirations, this model was not supported. However, for fathers, there was a

relation between fathers' self-disclosure and children's educational aspirations; additionally, children's knowledge of fathers' work characteristics was related to children's educational aspirations. It appears that both children's knowledge and fathers' self-disclosure uniquely predict children's educational aspirations. This observed trend may indicate fathers' attempt to convey values and attitudes about education, an element of family communication thought to be salient in the work done by Jodl and colleagues (2001). This pattern was evident even after controlling for fathers' education.

There was also a marginally significant finding that fathers' self-disclosure about work was positively associated with children's occupational aspirations. This pattern indicates that fathers' disclosure about work may motivate children to aspire to more prestigious occupations. It may be that fathers use self-disclosure as an opportunity to encourage children's occupational goals by discussing their actual work experiences. This allows children the opportunity to learn about the elements of fathers' work that fathers' value, consistent with the work of Wahl and Blackhurst (2000) Also, since fathers are less likely to discuss good days at work more often than bad days at work, this discourse pattern may illuminate both the benefits of employment, but also the downside. Children gain a realistic expectation of the work environment, which serves to teach children that, even though work is not always easy and fun, it has times of reward and satisfaction.

Interestingly, children's knowledge of father's work characteristics was negatively related to children's educational aspirations. In other words, the more children know about fathers' work characteristics, the less education the child aspires to attain. It could be that children who know about fathers' work are more aware of the stresses associated with work, and therefore aspire to what they view as less stressful occupations (which on average require less

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education). If children do not have a realistic understanding of the stresses associated with work, children may aspire to higher prestige occupations without an appreciation of the downside of such occupations. This interpretation is similar to the findings presented by Barnett (1994) and Roberts and Levenson (2001) which argued that men's work stress had a greater impact on the family than did women's work stress.

The hypotheses of the present study generally were not supported for mothers' self-disclosure about work, children's knowledge about mothers' work characteristics, and children's educational and occupational aspirations. However, significant findings emerged when considering children's knowledge of mothers' work emotions. Mothers' report of self-disclosure about good days at work was positively related to children's knowledge of mothers' good days at work. This finding is important in that it shows that mothers' communication about work is related to children's knowledge. It also suggests that mothers may disclose more intimate information about work to their children than do fathers, which is consistent with past research (e.g., Dolgin, 1996; Farrell & Barnes, 1993). Mothers' self-disclosure about bad days was not associated to children's knowledge of mothers' bad days at work. This may be due to the fact that mothers are significantly more likely to disclose about good days than bad days. Therefore, children do not have equal opportunities to learn about mothers' bad days at work.

The findings that mothers' self-disclosure about work is not as highly related to children's knowledge about mothers' work and children's aspirations may be related to norms regarding parent-child relationship characteristics. In particular, parent-child intimacy is a potential mechanism. It could be that mothers have more experiences than fathers communicating with children about a variety of topics and have built a more intimate relationship with their children (regardless of their self-disclosure about work). For fathers, on

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the other hand, communication about work may be a key indicator of the general intimacy of the father-child relationship; this is similar to the Farrell and Barnes (1993) study which found that the amount of communication positively correlated with feelings of cohesion in the involved parties, as well as the family as a whole.. Therefore, fathers' disclosure might be more significantly related to children's knowledge and children's aspirations.

Mothers' disclosure about good days at work was associated with children's knowledge of mothers' good days at work (but not about specific characteristics of work). Perhaps mothers disclose more about the emotional experiences of work than about more emotionally neutral work characteristics. This possibility should suggest that mothers' disclosure about bad days at work would be related to children's knowledge of mothers' bad days at work; this was not supported. Perhaps mothers work to shield children from negative work experiences through highlighting good days at work and minimizing their negative work experiences. This may again be related to the degree to which mothers' work-related stress (which is thought to be higher on bad days than good days) impacts the family system, as was demonstrated in research by Barnett (1994) and Roberts and Levenson (2001).

The analyses conducted for the present study also failed to support the hypothesized mediational model. It was predicted that children's knowledge of parental work characteristics would mediate the relationship between parents' self-disclosure about work and children's educational and occupational aspirations. Even in circumstances in which parental self-disclosure and children's knowledge of parental work characteristics each predicted children's educational aspirations, there was no evidence of mediation. Instead, there is evidence that each of these variables may uniquely contribute to children's formation of educational and occupational aspirations. Perhaps fathers' self-disclosure serves to communicate beliefs and

attitudes regarding the value of education (as discussed by Jodl et al., 2001). Children's knowledge may come from other forms of communication, such as non-verbal signals and visits to the location in which parents work, an idea supported by Pitrkowski and Stark (1987).

Strengths and Limitations

The present study had several limitations that may have hampered the ability to detect hypothesized relationships. The study relied on a cross-sectional sample and the use of self-report survey data. These methods may not demonstrate the developmental nature of parent-child interactions that would be possible to detect with a longitudinal design. Tracking parental daily work emotions (and children's awareness of them) would require longitudinal data. This would allow investigators to track daily variations in parents' work-related emotions and children's awareness of them. The current investigation did not rely on matching children's reported knowledge of parental work emotions with parents' reports. Therefore, children's knowledge may or may not reflect the true nature of parents' work emotions, unlike the work characteristic knowledge variable which was constructed by matching children's reports with parents' reports.

The present study may have also been limited by its sample. Most of the research on how children are impacted by parental employment (e.g., what children know about parental employment or how employment impacts parental supervision techniques) have been conducted with younger children. Conversely, most of the research on educational and occupational aspirations has been done with early adolescents. The sample employed in the current study was mostly school-aged children, older than those children traditionally studied in work-family literature, and slightly younger than the participants in the aspirations literature. Therefore, this may be an age in which children are becoming more autonomous, and not as significantly

impacted by parental employment; at the same time, their aspirations may be fluid and constantly changing (making them difficult to predict from parental employment characteristics). This may demonstrate the need for a longitudinal design in which children's knowledge as a young child can be related to early adolescent aspirations.

As with most research in this domain, the sample employed a small representation of fathers. This shortage limited the ability to examine within-family comparisons of mothers' and fathers' communication patterns. The parents in the sample came mostly from two-parent homes, which could not be reflected in the analyses. These fathers, and mothers, were also fairly well educated, and ethnically homogeneous, with a large majority of the sample being Caucasian or Asian.

The sample may be a limitation of the present study; however, it may also be a strength. One benefit is that the study utilizes both mothers and fathers. Although the sample of fathers is small relative to mothers, it is a benefit to include fathers in the various analyses. Another strength of the study is that the sample uses a largely understudied age group in the work and family literature. The research focused on how work affects children in middle childhood, which is in contrast with the majority of the work and family research that attends to preschool aged children.

The present study offers some unique contributions to the work and family literatures. Specifically, the present study offers one examination of the processes (i.e., parental self-disclosure) through which parental employment affects children. There are very few studies in which such processes have been proposed and examined systematically. The study suggests that such processes may influence how children learn about parental employment. There is ample evidence that parental employment affects children; but, there is little research indicating how

this pattern occurs. This study presents evidence suggesting that parental self-disclosure about work is worthy of more research attention.

Future Directions

Future research on the processes through which parental employment influences children's knowledge and aspirations should focus on tracking actual knowledge instead of perceived knowledge. For example, using a daily diary method in which both parents and children indicate parental work emotions and the topics of discussion during the day may be beneficial. This would allow researchers to see how frequently children are aware of their parents emotional work experiences. It may also allow researchers to examine other possible mechanisms through which children learn about parental employment. It may be that children learn about parental employment through indirect communication methods (e.g., eavesdropping on parental conversations, or perhaps the child solicits information from the parent).

It may also be beneficial for researchers to examine other possible mediational variables between parental self-disclosure and children's aspirations. It may be that children gain realistic expectations about employment and education through parental self-disclosure about their own educational and employment characteristics. Perhaps considering the gender of the parent and child may be necessary, in that perhaps daughters react differently to mothers' self-disclosure than fathers' self-disclosure, with a similar pattern for sons, mothers, and fathers. The present study provides a foundation from which further examination of the processes through with parental employment affects children can be conducted.

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Appendix A

Children's Knowledge of Parent's Workday (Parent Measure)

CHILDREN'S KNOWLEDGE OF PARENT'S WORKDAY

In this section of the survey you will be asked to report on how much your child knows about your workday. You will be asked some questions that require you to provide an answer and others you will be asked to indicate on a scale from 1(Almost Never) to 5(Almost Always) how often your child knows about elements of you job. If you have more than one job please report on what you consider your primary job. If you are a student, please consider school as your job. If you hold a position in which you do not work 12 months out of the year, respond based on the months you are employed.

1. What time do you leave for work on an average workday?

2. What time do you arrive home on an average workday?

3. Does your job require you to travel overnight?

    Frequently   Somewhat   Only a Little   Not at All

4. Do you have a supervisor at your job?

    Yes   No

5. Do you supervise others at your job?

    Yes   No

CHILDREN'S KNOWLEDGE OF YOUR DAILY LIFE

	Almost Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Frequently	Almost Always
How often does your child know…					
1. When you have had an especially good day at work?	1	2	3	4	5
2. When you have had an especially bad day at work?	1	2	3	4	5
3. When you will have to travel overnight for work?	1	2	3	4	5
How often…					
4. Do you tell your child, without being asked, when you have had a good day at work?	1	2	3	4	5
5. Do you decide NOT to tell your child when you have had a good day at work?	1	2	3	4	5
6. Do you decide to tell you child, without being asked, when you have had a bad day at work?	1	2	3	4	5
7. Do you decide NOT to tell your child when you have had a bad day at work?	1	2	3	4	5
8. Does your child ask you about your day at work?	1	2	3	4	5

9. Think about some times when you have talked to your child about your day at work.
   a. What are some reasons why you talk to your child about your workday?

If applicable…
   b. What are some reasons why you decide NOT to talk to your child about your workday?

Appendix B

Children's Knowledge about Father's [Mother's] Workday (Child Measure)

CHILDREN'S KNOWLEDGE ABOUT FATHER'S [MOTHER'S] WORKDAY

	Almost Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Frequently	Almost Always
1. How often do you know when your father [mother] has had a really good day at work?	1	2	3	4	5
How do you usually learn about this?					
a My father [mother] usually tells me this without being asked.	1	2	3	4	5
b. I usually ask my father [mother] about this.	1	2	3	4	5
c. I can usually tell this by observing and listening to my father [mother].	1	2	3	4	5
d. My mother [father] usually tells me about this.	1	2	3	4	5

e. How else might you learn about this?

	Almost Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Frequently	Almost Always
2. How often do you know when your father [mother] has had a really bad day at work?	1	2	3	4	5
How do you usually learn about this?					
a My father [mother] usually tells me this without being asked.	1	2	3	4	5
b. I usually ask my father [mother] about this.	1	2	3	4	5
c. I can usually tell this by observing and listening to my father [mother].	1	2	3	4	5
d. My mother [father] usually tells me about this.	1	2	3	4	5

e. How else might you learn about this?

CHILDREN'S KNOWLEDGE ABOUT FATHER'S [MOTHER'S] WORKDAY

1. What time does your father [mother] usually go to work?

_____

2. What time does your father [mother] usually come home from work?

_____

	A lot	Somewhat	Only a Little	Not at All	I Don't Know
3. Does your father [mother] have to travel overnight for his job?	1	2	3	4	5
4. Does your father [mother] do the same thing over and over again while he is working?	1	2	3	4	5
5. Does your father [mother] have a supervisor at his job?	1	2	3	4	5
6. Does your father [mother] supervise other people at his job?	1	2	3	4	5
7. Does your father [mother] decide when to take a break at his job?	1	2	3	4	5
8. Does your father [mother] use special machines or other equipment at work?	1	2	3	4	5
9. Does your father [mother] interact with a lot of people every day at work?	1	2	3	4	5
10. Does your father [mother] complete tasks with other people while he is at work?	1	2	3	4	5
11. Does your father [mother]'s job let him work at his own pace?	1	2	3	4	5
12. Can your father [mother] leave work in the middle of his workday if he needs to?	1	2	3	4	5
13. Does your father [mother] analyze or interpret information while at work?	1	2	3	4	5
14. Does your father [mother] start work at the same time every day?	1	2	3	4	5
15. Does your father [mother] make decisions about what he does at work?	1	2	3	4	5
16. Does your father [mother] give advice to others at work?	1	2	3	4	5
17. Does your father [mother] make decisions about what other people do at work?	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix C

Children's Aspirations (Child Measure)

THINKING ABOUT YOUR FUTURE

1. How much education do you expect to complete?

      a.   I don't expect to complete high school.
      b.   I expect to finish high school.
      c.   I expect to get some vocational training after high school.
      d.   I expect to go to college for a couple of years.
      e.   I expect to complete a college degree (Bachelor's, or undergraduate, degree).
      f.   I expect to complete a Master's Degree.
      g.   I expect to complete an advanced degree (Ph.D., or MD, or J.D.).

2. How sure are you that this is how much schooling you will complete?

1	2	3	4	5

Not at all sure   **Totally sure**

3. Think about the careers you are interested in (in other words, what you want to be when you grow up). What job or career would you say you **most likely** to have when you grow up?

_____

4. How sure are you that this will be your future career?

1	2	3	4	5

Not at all sure   **Totally sure**

Appendix D

Variable Summaries

Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Mothers' Reports				
Disclosure about a good day at work	3.6	1.0	2.0	5.0
Disclosure about a bad day at work	3.0	1.0	1.0	5.0
Overall disclosure about work	6.6	1.6	3.0	10.0
Fathers' Reports				
Disclosure about a good day at work	2.8	0.9	1.0	5.0
Disclosure about a bad day at work	2.7	0.7	1.0	4.5
Overall disclosure about work	5.5	1.1	3.0	8.0
Child's Reports About Mothers				
Knowledge of mothers' good days at work	3.6	1.1	1.0	5.0
Knowledge of mothers' bad days at work	3.7	1.3	1.0	5.0
Mothers' self-disclosure to children	5.3	2.2	2.0	10.0
Child's Reports About Fathers				
Knowledge of fathers' good days at work	3.6	1.3	1.0	5.0
Knowledge of fathers' bad days at work	3.5	1.4	1.0	5.0
Fathers' self-disclosure to children	4.8	2.4	2.0	10.0
Children's Reports About Aspirations				
Children's educational aspirations	5.6	1.5	2.0	7.0
Children's occupational aspirations	56.5	17.4	21.2	86.1